THE

# Anti-Slavery Reporter

PUBLISHED UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE

### BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1901.

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PUBLISHED AT THE OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY, 55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.

British and Joreign Anti-Slavery Society.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-STAYERY SOCIETY.

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PUBLISHED UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE

### ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

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SUBSCRIBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE SOCIETY
WILL BE HELD AT ITS OFFICES

55, NEW BROAD STREET, E.C.,

FRIDAY, MARCH 29th, 1901, AT 4 P.M.

Chairman: Sir T. FOWELL BUXTON, Bart., G.C.M.G. (President).

PUBLISHED AT THE OSFICES OF THE SOCIETY,

### The Anti=Slavery Reporter.

Stretcher Andrews

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JANUARY—FEBRUARY, 1901.

[The Editor, whilst grateful to all correspondents who may be kind enough to furnish him with information, desires to state that he is not responsible for the views stated by them, nor for quotations which may be inserted from other journals. The object of the REPORTER is to spread information, and articles are necessarily quoted which may contain views or statements for which their authors can alone be held responsible.]

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# ANNUAL SUMMARY.

The closing year of the nineteenth century, which has been one of storm and stress and many anxieties for the English people, has not been marked by any striking events connected with the question of slavery.

It is true that the "Native question" in South Africa is one of the most important problems, arising out of the war, which the British Government has to solve in the new colonies, as it has always been one of the difficulties between the Dutch and English, and the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has submitted to the Government its views as to the necessity of making a strong declaration against all forced labour and oppressive treatment of the native population. In East Africa there is little change apparent in the policy in regard to slavery pursued in the Zanzibar Protectorate, although we hope that the appointment of Sir Charles N. E. Eliot to the post of Consul-General in succession to Sir Arthur Hardinge, who has been promoted to be British Minister in Persia, will expedite the very gradual measures of abolition which are being carried out in the islands, and bring about the liberation of the slaves on the mainland strip, which is administered by our own Foreign Office officials.

We refer below to the official reports of the unexpected increase in the slave trade from the coast of East Africa, owing in large measure, we are told, to the serious visitations of the plague and famine in that country. Slaves are kidnapped and exported from the Portuguese, Italian, German, and even (though in a much smaller degree) British territories, to the Persian Gulf.

A preliminary Report on Uganda by Sir H. H. Johnston was published as a Parliamentary Paper in July.

An additional grant of two millions for the completion of the Uganda Railway has been obtained from Parliament during the year, and a Parliamentary Paper on its progress was issued in August. The actual survey of the whole line,

from Mombasa to its terminus on Lake Victoria, Port Florence, is complete, and a steamer was put on the lake in June last. The use of the railway for saving human life and suffering is shown by the long list of commodities carried by the line, which must formerly have been carried on the backs of slave porters. At the end of October the "rail-head" had reached 452 miles from the coast while advance gangs were at work up to the 490th mile.

News was received of fighting and disturbances at the close of the year in

both the British East Africa and the Uganda Protectorates.

From Morocco we have nothing new to report except that, according to Al Moghreb Al Aksa, the prisons which were recently cleaned and renovated, and the condition of the prisoners slightly improved, on the suggestion of the Foreign Ministers, have again reverted to "their primitive state, if not worse." The French occupation of Twat, a district to the south-east of Morocco, though it caused considerable and perhaps unnecessary apprehension on political grounds, had a good effect in stopping slave-trading.

An effort is being made to start a Home at Tangier on a small scale for old and destitute women slaves, who, when past work, are freed by their masters and left to beg or starve. The project has the approval of the British Minister, and several European ladies resident in Tangier are interesting themselves in it.

Several Conferences have taken place during the year which have been more or less connected with the slavery question. The International Anti-Slavery Congress held in Paris in August was the means of gathering together delegates from many European countries to discuss problems of African Slavery. Papers were read on various phases of the question, and certain resolutions were adopted by the Congress of a somewhat general character, but as all burning questions which might lead to disagreement and political difficulty were, for obvious reasons, carefully avoided, the Congress cannot be expected to bear much immediate fruit. It is hoped, however, that the rapprochement of men of different countries and widely differing opinions on other matters will lead to good results. The Society was represented by three delegates, including its President, and four papers were put in on its behalf.

At the International Law Association, also held in August, at Rouen, a paper was read by Mr. J. G. Alexander on Progress made towards the abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade. A "Pan-African" Conference of coloured people to discuss questions connected with native races in Africa and elsewhere, was held in London in July, at which grateful references were made to the work of Wilberforce, Clarkson and other opponents of negro slavery, and a resolution of thanks to the Anti-Slavery Society for its services

to the African people was adopted.

The reports which come from Lord Cromer as to the efforts made in the Soudan towards the suppression of slave-trading are encouraging, but the position as to domestic slavery is hardly so satisfactory; the immense difficulty, however, of dealing with a practice so deeply rooted throughout that great region cannot be forgotten. In the strip of country between the Anglo-Egyptian

Soudan and Abyssinia proper, organised slave raids are carried on, as we learn from a correspondent who has recently travelled in the district, to supply the markets held in the country of Godjam, which is only nominally subject to the Emperor Menelik.

Another correspondent writes from Persia, that he has good evidence to show that negro slaves are freely imported into Bagdad, whence they are sent with trading caravans to Teheran.

In West Africa we learn from missionary sources, that slave trading and slavery practices are rife in the German Colony of the Cameroons, whilst intelligence comes from Portuguese Colonies both in West and East Africa, of trading in slaves and in native hired "boys" going on unhindered by the Government, and of native labour being openly exploited in the interests of the colonists and the white planters.

From Madagascar, on the other hand, have come tidings that the system of Corvée or forced labour which has hitherto been binding on the Malagasy, and has pressed very hardly upon them, was to be abolished at the end of the year.

The transfer of the territory of the Royal Niger Company to the direct control of the Imperial Government was mentioned in our last year's Report. The change came into effect on the first day of the year under review.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held at its offices on the 6th April, Sir T. Fowell Buxton presiding.

The Committee has lost during 1900 one of its oldest and most respected members in Mr. Arthur Albright. There have been no other changes in personnel, except that the name of M. Bonet Maury, a French Protestant professor, who is deeply interested in the slavery question, has been added to the list of Corresponding Members of the Society.

We proceed to review the anti-slavery events of the year somewhat more in detail, under separate heads.

# slavery. This Blue Book also contained letters relating to the capture of slave dhows off the Zanzibez court, and the resons of the slaves found thereon, who were given employment on the shirld test attained to their

A DEBATE took place in the House of Commons at the end of February, when Mr. J. A. Pease pressed the Government to carry out their pledge to extend the benefits of the Abolition policy to the Zanzibar mainland strip. The official answer given by Mr. Brodrick was that the process of manumission was "going on automatically," and that the Government could not interfere with the status of slavery, on account of the undertaking given by Lord Kimberley in 1895, that the status of slavery would remain as it was. The "undertaking" referred to was given in a speech by Sir Lloyd Mathews to the Arabs at Mombasa in 1895, when he stated that "all ancient customs would be allowed to continue." From letters which passed between Mr. Pease and Lord Kimberley it was made clear that Sir A. Hardinge had been authorized to give an assurance, on taking over the administration of the mainland territory, that "as regards religion and

law, and the Sultan's sovereignty, no difference was made by the change," but that the question of slavery was not directly dealt with by Lord Kimberley when in office. Thus it also appears to be clear that Sir Lloyd Mathews' words went beyond the assurance which he was authorized to give, and the Government have allowed his words to stand uncorrected for five years, taking advantage of their own neglect to refuse any further step towards the emancipation of the mainland slaves.

In another debate on the Zanzibar question which was raised by Sir Charles Dilke in June, Mr. Brodrick complained of the frequency of the debates on the subject, and repeated that the Government policy of gradual abolition in Zanzibar was justified by its results.

A long letter was addressed by Bishop Tucker of Uganda to the Society early in the year, considerable extracts from which were published in the Press, relating the rescue by the Bishop of slaves who had been kidnapped in Uganda, and who were liberated by the intervention of the British officials. The Bishop contrasted these cases with the state of things in the Zanzibar mainland, and urged the "friends of freedom at home continually to press" this latter subject "upon the attention of the public and of the Government." He insisted that "the contention that Sir A. Hardinge's promise of July 1895, to observe 'all ancient customs' ties our hands will not bear a moment's examination. It can be no argument for an indefinite continuance of the present condition of things."

A Parliamentary Paper on the East Africa Slavery question was published in April containing correspondence on the Vagrancy regulations in Pemba, against which, it will be remembered, the Anti-Slavery Society made a successful protest to Lord Salisbury in 1899, pointing out that in order to avoid the evils of vagrancy among the freed slaves, the new regulations tended to do it at the cost of altogether arresting the operation of the Decree abolishing the legal status of slavery. This Blue Book also contained letters relating to the capture of slave dhows off the Zanzibar coast, and the rescue of the slaves found thereon, who were given employment on the Government plantations, or returned to their homes. The number of slaves freed by the Court or by their owners in Zanzibar and Pemba during the year 1899 was stated to be 4,263.

Sir Arthur Hardinge reported very favourably as to the general condition of the island of Pemba, and stated that the progress of the Emancipation Decree was "at once gradual and steady," the owners of plantations, with few exceptions, adapting themselves to the new system and paying wages to their workmen whether free, or nominal slaves.

This year a new office of Superintendent of African Protectorates under the Foreign Office has been created, to which Sir Clement Hill, K.C.M.G., has been appointed. Sir Clement has for some months past been on a tour of inspection in the East Africa and Uganda Protectorates.

over the administration of the mainism's testing, that "as regards religion and

The letter referred to the exploitation of the natives by the white men for

### Slave Trade by Sea.

THE withdrawal of the usual British war-ship from Zanzibar waters in the spring (which is the time of the south-west monsoon when the slave traders are most active) gave rise to questions in Parliament, eliciting the fact that no ship had been stationed at Zanzibar from September to May, but that instructions had been given for the cruiser "Barrosa" to proceed to that station in May to remain during the monsoon months, to prevent the export of slaves.

The Documents relating to the Suppression of the Slave Trade, which are annually published in accordance with the Brussels Act, showed that during 1899 there had been a marked recrudescence of the trade on the coast of East Africa. Evidence of this came from the British and German Consuls at Zanzibar, and the Governor of German East Africa, as well as from British naval officers stationed off the coast. It was stated that slaves are now seldom run in cargoes, but are generally smuggled singly to avoid detection, and Herr von Liebert remarked that all the efforts of the German authorities will remain fruitless so long as Muscat constitutes a mart for slaves captured in East Africa. The number of traders who are caught and punished appears small compared with the admitted extent of the traffic, and it is deplorable that more is not done to check it on the Arabian coast and in the Persian Gulf.

The export of slaves from the coast of Tripoli to Turkish ports continues, encouraged by the connivance of the Turkish officials who enable the traders to evade the Brussels Act, but the agents of the Italian Anti-Slavery Society established in the Tripoli district state that the trade has been rendered more difficult and has diminished. The report of that Society to the International Paris Congress points out the need which exists for compelling Turkey to a better observance of the Act, and punishing Pashas and officials guilty of breaches of it.

### The Pative Question in South Africa.

In the Revoken Soudan, Lord Cromer states that the difficulty of marding

THE Committee of the Society felt that, although South Africa has for many years been understood to be the special sphere of the Aborigines' Protection Society, which has devoted its earnest attention to native interests there, it was its duty to urge upon our Government the importance, in framing a settlement at the close of the war, of providing clearly against the recognition of any form of Native slavery.

A letter was accordingly addressed to the Colonial Secretary in November, in which the Committee submitted that an unique opportunity was now offered for a broad and comprehensive settlement of the question of the treatment and rights of the native races of South Africa.

The letter referred to the exploitation of the natives by the white men for the purpose of obtaining cheap labour, and strongly urged the abolition of every form of compulsory labour, however plausibly named, and the necessity that the treatment of the natives should be very carefully watched and controlled by the Imperial Government, and not left to Colonial administration.

The Committee submitted that the question was an Imperial and not a merely Colonial one, and expressed the earnest hope that it might be treated as such, in an impartial and generous spirit.

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### Egypt and the Soudan.

The Decrees which is accordance with the Triples of the Street China, which are

LORD CROMER'S valuable Reports on the administration of Egypt and the Egyptian Soudan during 1899, were published in April of this year, and gave a favourable account of the work done by the Slavery Department in Egypt in bringing slave dealers to justice. The willingness of the people to assist in the repression of slavery was shown by the large number of convictions obtained during the year. The procedure under the Slavery Convention of 1895 has worked well on the whole, though experience shows that the law may be evaded by selling women under the pretence of giving them in marriage to the purchasers.

A highly satisfactory Report of the Cairo Home for freed women slaves was received by the Society, it being stated to be unnecessary for the present to make any further calls on private charity for the maintenance of the institution, which continues to render useful service. Only 37 slaves passed through the Home in 1899, owing, Lord Cromer says, to the steady process of manumission for many years which "has without doubt greatly diminished the total number of slaves in Egypt."

In the Egyptian Soudan, Lord Cromer states that the difficulty of guarding all the slave routes and tracks is very great, and the progress made towards stopping the kidnapping and buying and selling of slaves has been somewhat slower than he had hoped for. Domestic slavery is not formally recognised in the Soudan, but the authorities seem now to be somewhat more disposed to countenance the relations of master and slave than they were at the first, and we regret to learn that the institution enjoys a measure of official protection, and that native officials sometimes interfere on behalf of the master and even compel a slave to return to him.

In the Central Soudan, the report of the Italian Anti-Slavery Society, above referred to, states that the slave trade is carried on publicly in Bornu, Darfour, Wadai, &c., and caravans of slaves are taken across the Sahara for export from the coast of Tripoli.

### The Death.someing in Occorna.

We regret to state that the falling off in donations noticed last year has increased in 1900, so that while the amount of our regular subscriptions remains fairly stationary, our total receipts from contributions have dropped to a little under £600, and our ordinary income falls short of our expenditure (which has been slightly reduced this year) by over £100.

We have received two legacies during the year of £1,500 and £50 from the executors of the late Mr. Arthur Albright and Mr. John Frank, respectively, which have in part been invested and in part placed on deposit with the Society's bankers, but the Committee is anxious to replace the loss of contributors by obtaining new and increased annual subscriptions, and so begin the new century on a more business-like footing and secure a regular income at least equal to meeting its ordinary moderate expenditure.

### Obituary.

WE have referred above to the loss which the Society has sustained in the death of Mr. Arthur Albright, the senior member of the Committee, and an earnest and generous friend and supporter of its work.

Other supporters of the Society who have died during the year are:—Mrs. A. Hall Browne, Mr. Alexander Innes, Mrs. H. F. Atkins, Mr. Henry Brown, Mrs. Pike, Mr. W. H. Horniman, Mr. John Frank, Mrs. Walker, Mr. George Reckitt, Mr. Samuel Hare, Miss H. Rowntree, Mrs. Blunt, Mr. James Cropper, Mrs. Jonathan Priestman, Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. Theodore Harris, Mr. H. J. Poulter, and Mr. J. S. Sewell.



On the 1st of August, 1884, Your Majesty greenests presided given a

# of the Prince of Wales for more than to ease so helped to its work, in Miner and elsewhere, may still be continued to the Ami Tevery Secrety and all the Committee desires 396nE, bone 311T (a) congruentiations to Miner

Readers of the Anti-Slavery Reporter who wish to bind their numbers for 1900 can obtain copies of the Title-page and Index to the volume on application to the Secretary of the Society at the office, 55, New Broad Street, E.C.

### The Death of Queen Victoria.

At its first meeting after the occurrence of this great and momentous loss to the Nation, the Committee resolved to forward to its Royal Patron, now our Sovereign, an address expressive of its sorrow at the grievous event, and its respectful sympathy with their Majesties, assuring the King at the same time of its loyalty on his succession to the throne, and asking for the continuance of His Majesty's patronage.

The address was forwarded to Sir Francis Knollys for submission to the King. I'm through no bender that at liver beneath need more at sent while-

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### A LOYAL ADDRESS FROM THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

TO HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

At this solemn moment, when the whole British Empire is mourning the death of its beloved and venerated Queen, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society begs leave to offer to Your Majesty and to Her Majesty Queen Alexandra the expression of its most respectful and heartfelt sympathy.

The Committee remembers with gratitude the interest taken by the Royal Family during the past century in the Society's work for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade, some of Her late Majesty's Uncles having presided over large and enthusiastic anti-slavery meetings in London, whilst in 1840 the lamented Prince Consort took the chair at a large public gathering, the object of which was the abolition of the slave trade on the West Coast of Africa.

On the 1st of August, 1884, Your Majesty graciously presided over a meeting convened by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in the Guildhall of the City of London, to celebrate the Jubilee of Emancipation in British possessions; Your Majesty then consented to become Patron of the Society, and the Committee would now humbly pray that this Royal Patronage of the Prince of Wales for more than 16 years, so helpful to its work in Africa and elsewhere, may still be continued to the Anti-Slavery Society.

The Committee desires to offer its loval and dutiful congratulations to Your Majesty upon ascending the throne so long and beneficently occupied by the truly great and good Queen whose memory will always live in the hearts of

millions of her devoted subjects; and it will ever pray that Your Majesties may long live in health and prosperity to follow in her illustrious steps.

On behalf of the Committee,

(Signed) THOS. FOWELL BUXTON, President.

JOSEPH ALLEN, Treasurer.

CHAS. H. ALLEN, Honorary Secretary.

TRAVERS BUXTON, Secretary.

55, New Broad Street, E.C., 1st February, 1901.

### The Mative Question in South Africa.

REPLY FROM THE COLONIAL OFFICE.

DOWNING STREET,

21st January, 1901.

SIR

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th November, respecting the future treatment of the native races of South Africa in the new Colonies.

I am to request you to inform the Committee of your Society that the question of the position of the natives in the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal is under the consideration of Sir Alfred Milner, and will receive the most careful attention of Her Majesty's Government, who are anxious that the interests and welfare of the native population should be properly safe-guarded.

I am to add that a copy of your letter has been transmitted to the High Commissioner.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) H. BERTRAM COX.

THE SECRETARY to the

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

This important question, especially in regard to native labour, continues to engage the attention of the Committee. The proposals of the owners of mines on the Rand to ask for the assistance of Government in the collection and distribution of native labour for working the mines, and in regulating the duration of their service, have an exceedingly sinister appearance. These gentlemen quite frankly deplore "the absence of legislation to compel the thousands of natives loafing about the kraals to do an honest day's work," or, in more guarded language, express the hope that the Government will grant "some

inducement or some policy to get them the labour they require" out of the natives of South Africa. It is clear that the capitalist class, both in the Transvaal and in Rhodesia, are prepared to put pressure on the Government to legislate in their interest.

The Committee of the Aborigines' Protection Society has addressed two letters to the Colonial Office regarding these projects, and has received the reply that Mr. Chamberlain has transmitted copies of both letters to the High Commissioner for consideration in connection with the letter of the Anti-Slavery Society.

Then, again, the reports of the importation of black labourers from Northern Africa, Somalis and Abyssinians, for the mines in Rhodesia, give rise to very serious questions. Disturbances are reported to have taken place at Salisbury, and a conflict at the port of Beira between the Somalis and the Portuguese police, which resulted in one man being killed and twenty-six wounded, while between fifty and sixty are said to be "missing, having jumped overboard." These attempts to get cheap labour at all costs point to a callous disregard of the interests of the natives, and to grave dangers which call for the most watchful control of the Imperial Government.

In a weighty and dispassionate article on this question in the Nineteenth Century for February, Mr. John Macdonell makes the following significant remark:—

"Anyone reading the early history of the anti-slavery movement, or of the formation of the Aborigines' Protection Society, must be struck by the change in the public conscience towards slavery and the welfare of uncivilised races—a change so signal that it may well be doubted whether if the work of emancipation had still to be done there exists the enthusiasm to carry it through."

Mr. Macdonell considers that most of the arguments as to the need of getting cheap labour, "so far as they are not complaints of the inconveniences incident to the employment of free labour, and unconscious repetitions of the oldest arguments for slavery" are vitiated by questionable assumptions, such as that natives are the only idlers, and that natives are necessarily idle unless working for white employers. He points out that the attempt to beat down the wages of natives by importing labour of a lower class is contrary to the sound policy pursued everywhere in regard to white races, and will result, if successful, in "a pretty close approximation to the substance of slavery."

Such importation even though it be carefully controlled by Government, will tend, by breaking up tribal arrangements and disintegrating native communities, to create a shifting, landless, homeless class—a true proletariat. Further, labour will become more and more discredited, and the class of "mean whites," the germs of which already exist, will increase, so that the economic condition will be assimilated to that of communities based on slavery.

Mr. Macdonell's view is that the best way of averting this is the maintenance of a high rate of native wages, which he maintains has been "one of the greatest civilizing agencies in recent times in South Africa."

The Compound System in vogue in the Diamond Mines is the subject of a recent article by a correspondent of *The Times*, who gives an account of "an independent and searching investigation" which he made into the truth of allegations concerning this system of labour. It is one which has given rise to much criticism, and is *primâ facie* objectionable as being of the nature of "class legislation," putting a restraint on personal liberty, and obviously opening a door, if not carefully controlled, for grave abuses. It is stated, however, by men whose knowledge and authority are unquestionable, that the system is a necessary one, and works out for the benefit of the natives employed.

The Times correspondent gives a very favourable account of his visit to the Diamond mines, which were fully thrown open to him. He finds that the natives, on entering the mines, enter into a purely voluntary contract not to leave their employment or the enclosure during the four months for which they are engaged, which contract is vouched for by the Government Department for the protection of natives. The natives' lodging places are clean, lofty, airy, and well kept, and the washing and sanitary regulations are excellent and strictly enforced. The food is good and is provided at the same prices as are charged in the town stores, and there is a well-stocked hospital. The natives gladly accept the conditions of service, and frequently renew their term, when expired. In short, according to this article, "there is in no sense either compulsion or imprisonment," and "it is for their own great good that the natives are isolated from the temptations and evils which formerly victimized them in the town locations."

In the course of a debate in the House of Commons on December 13th last, some reference was made by Sir W. V. Harcourt to the question of native labour in the Transvaal mines, and the expectation that the owners would call upon the Government to provide them with cheap labour. In reply to these remarks, the Chancellor of the Exchequer made the following important statement as to the policy of the Government:—

"He (Sir W. Harcourt) alluded to some utterances of directors of companies at a meeting in regard to a provision of the Government of cheap native labour for the mines. If that was intended to mean any action by the Government that for a moment could be interpreted as forced labour or anything in the nature of forced labour, then I say her Majesty's Government, being responsible, will take very good care that nothing of the kind occurs. But the cheapening of labour in the mines can be effected without anything of that kind.

The municipal government of Johannesburg and the local government of the Rand have notoriously been incapable of preserving order and preventing abuses, and is it not possible, may we not reasonably hope, that under the government which will in the future be in the Transvaal, there will be rather more fairness, rather more equity, shown to the native races than has been shown to them in the past? (Hear, hear.) All these reforms may tend to cheapen native labour without the introduction of anything like forced labour."

### Demba.

### LETTER FROM MR. THEODORE BURTT.

FRIENDS' INDUSTRIAL MISSION,
BANANI, PEMBA, ZANZIBAR,
3rd December, 1900.

To THE SECRETARY, ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

DEAR MR. BUXTON.

There is but little that is fresh to communicate in regard to the abolition of slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba.

At the present date I believe that the number of slaves who have been freed in the courts held for that purpose in Pemba is about 4,140; or something like 600 during the past year. During the autumn, while the clove crop was being gathered, very few slaves indeed applied for freedom. At that time of the year all can earn good wages whether they are slaves or free labourers, consequently they do not then apply for freedom. The irregularity with which the Courts were held during the Commissioner's absence may also have discouraged some slaves from attending who would otherwise have done so.

I was much pleased with the way the work of freeing slaves was conducted during the time Mr. Herbert Lister was Acting-Commissioner in the absence of Mr. J. P. Farler. From the time I returned to Pemba (the beginning of April) until he went out of office about a month ago, I believe every slave who applied for freedom (except possibly some concubines who were not eligible under the decree of 1807) received their freedom, and that promptly.

Mr. J. P. Farler, His Highness's Commissioner, has now returned and is holding Court regularly. From him I understand that about five slaves apply each Court day for freedom. And as far as I can discover they receive proper attention. Certainly those who have been sent from here have been freed

without any unnecessary delay.

I believe large numbers of slaves have either left their masters, or come to agreeable terms with them, and by one of these means have practically become free, although they have never been before the Court. The population also continues to decrease; the death rate is very high, the birth rate small, and probably quite as many people leave the island as come to it. The treatment of the Swahili population, whether free or otherwise, by the Arabs, has very greatly improved. Cases of intentional cruelty or oppression are almost unheard of throughout the island. This last fact is one of the chief causes of the small number of slaves applying for freedom.

The slaves now seeking for freedom differ, as a class, considerably from those who applied to the courts at first; many now are undesirable or unsettled characters who have reasons for wishing to move from one part to another.

Their stories are often far from being true.

The abolition of slavery, as far as it has been carried out, has not brought about those social evils which some who objected to the proposed change anticipated. Nevertheless, I am still of opinion that the system adopted by the Government of forcing the slaves to leave their homes and masters, and go to the courts in order to obtain freedom, has unsettled and disorganised the labour of the Island, to an extent which would not have taken place if slavery had been abolished all at once, and without the people in so many cases having to leave their homes. At the present time, even from the Arabs' point of view, I can see no reason for continuing the present system of gradual emancipation.

It is quite time slavery was finally brought to an end. It would then be more easy for the British public to understand that we are now, not so much face to face with the horrors of slavery (in Zanzibar and Pemba Islands), as the awful consequences of slavery; and the labour question (which includes employees and employers as well). Even when slavery is done away with, the social and moral evils, which it has fostered, to a large extent remain; and the earnest labours and assistance of philanthropic men and women are as much needed as ever.

If we deliver the slaves from the care and authority as well as the oppression of the Arabs and then simply leave them, there is serious danger that their last state may be worse than the first.

Yours very faithfully,
(Signed) THEODORE BURTT.

Mr. Burtt's report of the progress which is being made in the Island of Pemba, appears to be on the whole satisfactory, especially as regards the absence of cruelty in the treatment of slaves by their masters, and the prompt manner in which slaves applying to the Court receive their freedom. It is to be noted, however, that the rate of mortality among the population is still very high, and that the emancipated slaves are not freed from "the awful consequences" of the slavery system, so that very much still remains to be done for this long degraded people.

In the quiet state of the Islands, and in view of the voluntary arrangements made in so many cases between employers and employed, a limit could surely now be put to the long period of gradual emancipation with perfect safety, and the legal status of slavery be declared to be finally and fully abolished.

The Zanzibar Gazette of December 26th remarks on this subject :-

"No notes on Pemba would be complete which did not refer to the process and progress of emancipation of the slaves. This 'amelioration of the condition' of that large class in Pemba appears to be going on just at the pace at which the slaves themselves desire, and the position is as stated in Mr. Brodrick's recent utterance as published in these columns."

The Anti-Slavery Committee of the Society of Friends presented a comprehensive report of their mission work and the general situation in the island of

Pemba last year, of which the following résumé is published in a recent number of The Friend:

"Manumission proceeds very slowly, only about 1,000 slaves per annum getting their freedom absolutely acknowledged. On the other hand, the masters have to treat their slaves very much better than formerly, as both parties know that freedom can be claimed. The great hindrance is probably financial, as the Zanzibar Government is not in a position to pay down the sum necessary to compensate all owners; and now that our Government finds its finances strained by the South African war, no help can be looked for from that quarter. The transition stage between slavery and freedom is unsatisfactory, but evidently will continue for some time yet. The work of the missionaries has been first to gain the confidence of the freed slaves, then gradually to instil ideas of religion, domestic morality, and industry. These have to be cultivated in minds hitherto the prey of superstition and fear. The work cannot be rapid, but extracts from T. Burtt's letters show that there is distinct and encouraging progress. The religious meetings held each morning before work are quieter and better understood. The people are slow to speak of their deepest feelings, but there is ground for believing real work is proceeding amongst them. The individual work of the mission is essential, and progress is being made with the new buildings, but the committee is hampered by lack of funds. The expenditure last year, although carefully watched and cut down as much as possible, exceeded the income."

### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN ZANZIBAR.

(By permission from THE TIMES, January 28th.)

THE Vice-Consul of the United States at Zanzibar in a recent report says that the island is an interesting study from an economic standpoint. It is the half-way house of Eastern Africa-a place where two tides meet, and in the lack of current a scum of flotsam and jetsam remains. India sends her plague refugees, South Africa her war fugitives. The north-east monsoon brings dhow loads of passengers from the Persian Gulf, but they never seem to understand the uses of the north-west monsoon. The Germans, with their subsidized steamer lines and factories, are a great power, their greatest trade being in German goods, the expression "made in Germany" being appreciated as far inland as Livingstone's tree. England competes with Germany for the trade in printed goods, "being largely hampered, however, by a conservatism that tries to sell the native what she has, rather than what he wants." Ivory is undoubtedly decreasing, but the finding of old hoards, and the pushing of the caravans further inland each year keep the supply up to the average. Mombasa, the port of the Uganda railway, may displace Zanzibar as the most important trade centre of East Africa, though it is still to be seen whether European enterprise can overcome native prejudice, and the prestige of centuries. "Zanzibar watched, half interestedly, half sleepily. Zanzibar's excuse for being was her Arab population. The Arab's raison dêtre is the slave; and the slave has been taken from him, and the Arab has lost his occupation."

### The Slave Trade in Portuguese Africa.

THERE appears to be abundant evidence of the activity of the trade in slaves in the Portuguese colonies, to which we referred in our last issue.

The current number of the journal of the Belgian Anti-Slavery Society opens with an article entitled "The Modern Slave Trade on the West Coast of Africa," in which an appeal is made to the special Bureau created by the Brussels Act to collect information, and to public opinion, regarding this revival of the trade. It is suggested that at least a second international 'Bureau de Surveillance' might be established, similar to that at Zanzibar. The Congo Free State, especially, is deeply interested in this question.

"The slave trade, we say, is springing up again on the West Coast. But it is no longer for the profit of America; it is for the profit of the Crown of Portugal.

"In the upper basin of the Kasai, between the 20th and 23rd degrees of longitude, and the 6th and 9th of latitude, dwell tribes called Kioko or Tsioko (in the plural Ba-Kioko) who, from the point of view of slavery, are the 'Arabs' of this region.

"They are not, indeed, slave-hunters 'for the interior,' but for export purposes. They have their hands filled with European goods—a clear proof of their relations with the Coast—which serve them in negotiating for the purchase of slaves with the powerful chiefs of the district. Against the lesser chiefs and the villages, they employ the arms with which they are abundantly provided, and which make them the terror of the country. European articles of commerce can only reach them from two quarters; either the Portuguese side, Angola, or the Congo and the Kasai; but the latter alternative does not bear the smallest examination, for the Free State has always been at war with the Ba-Kioko . . . . In spite of defeats the Ba-Kioko are, at the present moment, still in force at some day's march only from the Congolese port of Kanda-Kanda."

The writer of the article goes on to explain that this trade is carried on to supply the Portuguese demand for negro labourers for the islands of San Thomé and Principe, and the agents of the planters are to be found at all the chief ports of Angola.

"It is then a continually growing demand, which must be supplied by the middlemen of Angola, and Angola only, for, on the coast of Guinea the black labourer is too dear. The Cameroons and the French Congo keep their own labourers, Cabinda is destitute of them, and none come from the Congo. All passengers by the Mossamedes and Lisbon line have seen negroes embarked, often by scores, at the ports mentioned above, who are landed at San Thomé and Principe.

"It is true they are no longer treated as 'black ivory' once was; they are well fed and humanely cared for. After having paid the £20 claimed by the recruiting agent, the owner of the negro who has thus entered his service, and whose mark of servitude is a copper bracelet, riveted to the wrist and numbered, treats him well, feeds him, gives him suitable lodging, and even pays him £5 a year. The Portuguese island authority sensibly prohibits corporal punishment, and the palmatore is only used secretly. But the faces of all these human creatures are covered with a veil

of melancholy showing that they have been deprived by force of that which man prefers above everything else—liberty."

The labourers are nominally engaged for five years, but hardly one of them ever sees his home again. Their papers are regular enough, and it is against such an export being regularized and legitimately carried on that protest needs to be made, and the signatories of the Brussels Act ought, as this article says, to take prompt and energetic measures against such a revival of slave trading

In a succeeding article in the same magazine we read an account given in a letter written by a missionary of the order of Pères Blancs, on the Upper Congo, of the trading carried on by the Bamundu (the name given to the Portuguese, or the blacks of their colony), who sell to the natives guns and gunpowder in exchange for slaves. This takes place on the rivers Kamolonda and Lualaba, tributaries of the Upper Congo, very much the same district of the interior as that spoken of in the account given by a French Protestant missionary in the last number of the *Reporter*, though the country was there referred to, by a slip of the pen, as the *Lower*, instead of the Upper Zambesi.

The tribes of whom this "white father" writes are constantly at war with one another, and arms are therefore in great demand. The Bamundu encamped within a day's journey of the mission station, about forty blacks headed by a caravan-leader, and proceeded to do business with the natives, giving three rifles for a young slave girl. In a few days they had thus bought a score of slaves, "bound together in Arab fashion, an iron ring being attached to the neck and a heavy chain passing from the one to the other." The writer truly adds that this trade is doubly harmful, for the purchase of firearms by the natives can only stir up tribal warfare and make their relations with the Free State more difficult.

The following paragraphs from missionary journals refer to the same subject; the first is from Regions Beyond:—

Mr. Stover, of Bailundu, cautions the people of America and England against congratulating themselves that slavery and the slave trade in Africa are substantially things of the past. He affirms that in the districts of Portuguese Angola more slaves are being sold now than ever. "We miss this one and that one," he writes, "and upon making inquiries find that they have been sold. The traders are all through the country, and the slave can be disposed of without the trouble of taking him to the coast. The open sore of Africa is still a long way from being healed." Major Gibbons, who has only just returned from his journey (Cape to Cairo), testifies to the same effect.

He says: "On getting near Lake Albert, I witnessed the effects of all the curses of Africa at once. I had no sooner passed through recently raided villages strewn with dead bodies than I came upon a large village in which the inhabitants were dying of starvation by hundreds. The scene was sickening, and the stench beyond description. About this time I saw a large war party, probably composed of cannibals on the march to avenge the raidings to which I have referred, and on reaching a camp on Lake Albert Edward I saw five or six villages spring into flames almost simultaneously, which told me they had accomplished their work."

The second is taken from the letter of a missionary connected with Mr. Arnot's Central African Mission, dated last July, giving his account of a journey from Bihé westward:—

"I have never seen such slave gangs bound west as pass us day after day since crossing the Quanza, and the many dead and decomposing bodies by the roadside tell their sad tale—knocked on the head to end their misery, or hamstrung and left. We had to turn away again and again in abhorrent disgust. The Lord of Sabaoth avenge! The cause of the slave is His, and He must and will end the groans by ending this inhuman, infernal traffic. The crack, crack of the slave-whip and the dull thud of the club on their backs is still sounding in our ears, but the sights—ah, these haunt us!

. . . 'The open sore of Africa' is alas! still unhealed, and her pioneer's

prayer remains unanswered.

"20th.-Reached Peho, close to Lutembwe, and Congo State territory. We hear of a Belgian scientific expedition having passed here and made observations, arrangements with chiefs, etc., only about four moons ago, but to-day here are slave caravans, six in all, each with a Portuguese flag flying and herds of slaves tied together and driven like cattle. Not only was it sad to see the slaves lashed together in gangs of five or six with leather thongs, each carrying a load of ivory or rubber above their shackles, but small-pox had broken out and was doing its decimating work, the Bihéans hiding their dead in camp. The Va-Lovale natives, on seeing the small-pox, refuse to sell to these slavers, and it is sad to see the slaves driven from place to place, camping wherever they can. It will be strange if we get past these small-pox caravans scatheless. I have forbidden our men to camp where these Bihéans have slept, so we pitch on any clean, convenient spot. Many Bihéans bore bullet wounds received in their slaving excursion, and one poor Bihé lassie had gone quite mad through the sights witnessed, as they had traded with cannibals; and to see her poor brother hold her in, as with her vacant laugh and wild gestures she made towards me, saying she knew me, was so very sad."

### EDMUND STURGE AND ZEBEHR PASHA.

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To the Editor of "THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER."

SIR

The following extract from The Financial News, of October 10th, 1900, contains an attack upon the late Edmund Sturge, which is not only insulting but untrue. It is written by the Special Commissioner of the above-named paper, and is dated Cape Town, 17th September. Will you kindly allow me, through the medium of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, to bring before its readers my vindication of my late venerated chief from this venomous attack of an anonymous writer.

edi ben munitad do vroyenny I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

A ve beenen reterate release env 1977 ... (1880) of CHAS. H. ALLEN.

After describing the events in the Soudan in 1884, when, as is well-known, the Government refused to allow LORD CROMER to send ZEBEHR

PASHA to Khartoum, as earnestly requested by GENERAL GORDON, then besieged by the Mahdi, *The Financial News* continues as follows:—

"Lord Salisbury, in a recent speech, made some cynical remarks on the work of missionaries, and how they were often the forerunners of the trader and the soldiers. And it is a fact, that however excellent may be their motives, and those of philanthropists who advocate what they call the cause of the coloured races, the result of their interference in matters properly appertaining to civil government has often been to defeat the cause they profess to have at heart, and to enhance the misery and cruelty they have been endeavouring to alleviate. The lesson of the action of the Anti-Slavery Association (sic) in 1885 is one that every statesman should lay to heart, and in dealing with arrangements between the white and the coloured peoples he should be very cautious in listening to those who are likely to be carried away by proselytising or philanthropic zeal. In that year General Gordon was shut up in The task before him was not merely to save his own life, for which he cared little, but to save the lives of some thousands of Egyptian soldiers and officials, and to organise some form of government for the vast territories that come under the name of the Soudan. Of all living men in the world he knew most about the Soudan and how to manage its various types of inhabitants. Responsible, as he was, to Great Britain, and, it might be said, to civilisation, for the results of his action, he recommended the employment of Zebehr Pasha, who was then a prisoner of State at Cairo, whom he knew well, and with whom at times he had had serious differences. Lord Cromer (then Sir Evelyn Baring)—one of the ablest and most experienced governors and administrators of which our country can boast, and than whom no one has a more intimate knowledge of Egypt and the Soudan-agreed with General Gordon, and approved of the appointment.

"The matter was afterwards fully discussed at a Cabinet Council at which Mr. Gladstone presided, and at which Lord Granville, then Foreign Secretary, was present, and the employment was fully approved, and the approval telegraphed to Cairo and Zebehr informed of it. At this juncture a Mr. Sturge-unknown except to a small body of Quakers-steps in, and writes to Lord Granville reminding him that Zebehr had been a slave owner and a slave dealer, and that therefore he ought not to be employed. Lord Granville knew this before the Anti-Slavery Association, through Mr. Sturge, mentioned the fact, and he must have known that every chief in the Soudan in the position of Zebehr was a slave owner and a slave dealer; but he did not do what any statesman would have done-put Mr Sturge's letter in the waste-paper basket-but actually reversed the policy advised by General Gordon and Sir Evelyn Baring and approved by his own Cabinet, and followed the dictation of this irresponsible Mr. Sturge and the equally irresponsible society he represented, and withdrew his approval of the appointment of Zebehr. It sounds incredible; but there is no doubt about the fact, and the disastrous results are only too well known. In consequence of our action the Soudan was given up to anarchy for a period of over twelve years, according to Father Ohrwalder, Slatin Pasha, and other authorities; over 5,000,000 lives were sacrificed, slavery established on a more cruel basis than it had ever been before, and the recent expenditure of British blood and money for the recovery of Khartoum and the Soudanese provinces rendered necessary. Never was greater disaster caused by a Ministry being guided by irresponsible instead of responsible advisers, and it is to be hoped the experience bought at such terrible cost will not be lost upon Ministers in

the future."

### MR. ALLEN'S REPLY.

To the Editor of "THE FINANCIAL NEWS."

SIR,-I have just had my attention called to an article in your issue of October 10th, under the title, "Cape Outlook After the War," and I trust you will allow me to reply to the very unjust and bitter attack on my late chief, Mr. Edmund Sturge, who departed this life in 1893 at the ripe age of 85. Mr. Sturge was not, as your Commissioner at the Cape describes him, "an irresponsible man, unknown except to a few Quakers." On the contrary, his zealous but unostentatious work on behalf of the slave for a period of sixty years made him a well-known and appreciated visitor at the Foreign and Colonial Offices under many successive Governments. To his elder brother, Joseph Sturge-whose statute stands in the Five Ways, Birmingham-this country is indebted for the summary repeal of the vile apprenticeship system in the West Indies in 1838, instead of letting it go on till 1841, with its abominable cruelties. Mr. Edmund Sturge was so frequent an attender in the Lobby of the House that he attracted the notice of the incomparable "Spy," and I now have before me a portrait, in his best style, published in Vanity Fair, November 20th, 1886, and entitled "A Quaker," with a sketch of the life of Mr. Edmund Sturge.

It is quite true, as stated in your article, that this worthy gentleman, as chairman of the "irresponsible" Anti-Slavery Society, did sign, on March 10th. 1884—not 1885, as you print it—a letter to Lord Granville, protesting against the dispatch of Zebehr to the Soudan, as requested by General Gordon; but the Society was far from being alone in this view of the question. A large body of the press and the public generally were at one in protesting against placing Gordon in the power of his bitter foe, Zebehr Pasha. In talking the matter over with the late Sir Henry Gordon, he said to me very emphatically: "If Zebehr is sent up, the first thing he will do will be to cut off my brother's head." He also impressed the same view upon Lord Granville, and your Commissioner's statement "that the Ministry were guided by irresponsible, instead of responsible, advisers" is not in accordance with fact. Nor has he any right to attribute the loss of 5,000,000 lives and endless disaster in the Soudan to the well-intentioned action taken by Mr. Sturge and the Anti-Slavery Society. I have not the necessary papers by me, but I believe that Lord Granville said, in his telegram forbidding the sending of Zebehr to Khartoum, that "the British public would not stand it."

No, sir, the real reason of the loss of the heroic Gordon and the subsequent twelve years' reign of terror was due to the extraordinary dilatoriness of the British Government and the refusal to allow General Graham to proceed with a flying column to Berber, after his great victory at Suakim. That the route was not too difficult for such an expedition was explained to me a year or two before by General Gordon himself, who had frequently traversed it, and always at express speed.

I am, &c.,

CHAS. H. ALLEN,

Honorary Secretary, British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

### THE EGYPTIAN SOUDAN.

WE observe in the extracts from the annual Note on the Egyptian Budget for 1901, drawn up by the Financial Adviser to the Egyptian Government, recently published, the following statement:—

"The Budget of the Slave Trade Department has been increased by £E1,200 to enable certain additional measures to be taken for the prevention of the slave trade. These measures are necessary in order that the opportunity, afforded by the reoccupation of the Soudan, of combating the trade near its source may be fully utilized."

### LAKE TANGANYIKA.

In a paper read some weeks ago in Brussels by Captain Hecq, the speaker declared that the slave trade was dead, but that the intermediate stage of domestic slavery still continues. He predicts that even this modified form of compulsory servitude will soon disappear, and that in the meanwhile the progress of the negroes is incontestable.

### PROFESSOR HUXLEY ON NEGRO SLAVERY.

In the recent biography of Professor Huxley we find some reference to his views on the system of slavery, expressed at the time of the American Civil War. These are valuable, as they are strictly utilitarian, and uninfluenced by what is often considered to be "sentimental philanthropy."

Huxley's main argument for the emancipation of the negro was, we are told, that in accordance with the moral law that no human being can arbitrarily dominate over another without grievous damage to his own nature, the master will benefit by freedom more than the freed man, and although the negro will never take the highest places in civilisation, yet he need not be confined to the lowest.

"I have not the smallest sentimental sympathy with the negro," he wrote, "don't believe in him at all, in short; but it is clear to me that slavery means, for the white man, bad political economy, bad social morality, bad internal political organization and a bad influence on free labour and freedom all over the world."

So writing in 1864 to his sister, who was resident in Tennessee, with regard to the Civil War, he says:—"I am in the condition of most thoughtful Englishmen; my heart goes with the South and my head with the North. I have no love for the Yankees, and I delight in the energy and self-sacrifice of your people; but for all that, I cannot doubt that whether you beat the Yankees, or not, you are struggling to uphold a system which must, sooner or later, break down."

Prefix and Foreign Anti-Stavery Soci

### ANTI-SLAVERY CONGRESS AT VIENNA.

REFERENCE was made in our last number to this Congress, of which a fuller report has since been published. The Congress was held in November at the instance of the Guild of St. Peter Claver and its zealous lady founder and director, the Countess Ledochowska, who took a notable part in the International Congress in Paris last August.

The Congress was a brilliant success; more than 1,000 persons were present at the opening including many notabilities, and the final meeting took place in the largest hall in Vienna, and was attended by nearly 3,000 persons.

The object of the Congress was to aid Roman Catholic Missions in Africa, and to make known the horrors of slavery, with a view to its total abolition and the protection of native races. It was resolved that the European Powers having colonies in Africa ought to be appealed to, in order to obtain the fulfilment of the engagements entered into by them at the Brussels Congress for the abolition of the slave trade and slavery.

The Countess Ledochowska declared her intention of calling a similar Congress in two or three years' time at Lucerne, and afterwards in the principal cities of Europe.

During the three days of the Congress we are told that "a revival of the spirit and zeal of Cardinal Lavigerie was experienced."

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# THE COLOURED RACE IN AMERICA.

AN encouraging proof that the negro in America is amenable to industrial training, and that such training leads to useful results, is shown by the following paragraph. It is taken from the periodical published by the Tuskegee School for coloured people in Alabama, U.S.A., of which Mr. Booker Washington is the well-known founder and principal.

"The friends of Tuskegee will be pleased, we are sure, that this institution has been solicited by the German Government to furnish a party of its graduates to go to Africa to a German colony to teach the natives improved methods of cotton raising and other products. They have also asked for a graduate from our mechanical department, one who can teach them how to build houses, gins, etc. Three of our graduates, Messrs. John W. Robinson and Allen Burks, from the Agricultural Department, and Shephard L. Harris, from the Mechanical Department, sailed from New York November 3rd for Togo, on the West Coast of Africa, where they are to labour. Mr. J. N. Calloway, one of our teachers in charge of Marshall Farm, a property of the school, has very kindly consented to accompany them and to have oversight of the work which these young men are to do, for at least one year. All of them are to receive very handsome salaries."

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### Review.

### LIFE AND LETTERS OF ZACHARY MACAULAY.

### By VISCOUNTESS KNUTSFORD\*.

THE name of Zachary Macaulay must always stand high among those of the noble band who fought for the abolition of the slave-trade and slavery in the British dominions. He won but few of the honours of that struggle and victory for righteousness, for his disposition made him content to work unremittingly in the background, leaving the foremost places to others. He had, however, to suffer a full portion of the misrepresentation, obloquy, and even hatred which attach to those who boldly attack the strongholds of vested interests and old established wrongs.

As the inscription on Macaulay's monument in Westminster Abbey describes it, while for 40 years he "partook in the counsels and labours" of the opponents of slavery in the British Empire, he "meekly endured the toil, the privation and the reproach, resigning to others the praise and the reward."

The present volume, written by Lady Knutsford, a grand-daughter of Macaulay, tells in clear and concise fashion the story of his laborious and devoted life, which should be read by all who are interested in the fight for Emancipation in British possessions.

It shows us a man singularly free from ambitious and selfish aims, of great industry and earnestness, battling manfully for truth and freedom, and fighting on even amidst the crushing disappointments and losses of his later life. Macaulay's character is well outlined in the words of Mr. Gladstone, speaking in 1841, only three years after his death:—

"I can only speak from tradition of the struggle for the abolition of slavery, but . . . . there was engaged in it a man who was the unseen ally of Mr. Wilberforce and the pillar of his strength—a man of profound benevolence, of acute understanding, of indefatigable industry, and of that self-denying temper which is content to work in secret, to forego the recompense of present fame, and to seek his reward beyond the grave; the name of that man was Zachary Macaulay."

A feature of special interest for us in Zachary Macaulay's work is that he was a founder of the Anti-Slavery Society of 1823—the predecessor of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society—and that with him originated the idea of publishing information in the Anti-Slavery Reporter (the parent of the existing journal of the same name), of which he was the indefatigable editor for many years, for he had "the pen of a ready writer." The inception of the Society and of the Reporter is thus described by Sir George Stephen in his Anti-Slavery Recollections:—

"This substitution of the power of anti-slavery association was an improvement of which the credit was mainly due to Mr. Macaulay. No man knew better

<sup>\*</sup> London, Edward Arnold.

than himself the vast importance of diffusing knowledge on any topic on which the public were required to act, and it was therefore part of his plan to publish Colonial intelligence in a periodical work. He undertook to be its editor and compiler. Hence originated the Anti-Slavery Reporter, the first number of which appeared on the 30th June, 1825; and thus was formed the nucleus of a system to which, under the blessing of God, all the subsequent success must be ascribed."

The importance and value of this publication is thus described by the authoress:

"The Anti-Slavery Reporters, which Macaulay continued to publish regularly till his death, were of absolutely vital importance to the cause of Emancipation. To the Anti-Slavery Reporters all the combatants for the freedom of their unhappy fellow-creatures held in a bondage worse than death looked for their supply of ammunition for the battle. When once facts were passed by Macaulay, no further confirmation was required. They were accepted as established by friends and foes alike without demur, and to use the words of an eminent Member of Parliament, 'whatever Macaulay says may be taken for gospel and quoted.'"

Macaulay's early experience fitted him to a singular degree for the anti-slavery work of his life. In 1784, at the age of sixteen, he was sent out to Jamaica by the advice of a relative of his father, and, his introductions proving useless, he was compelled to take a situation as book-keeper on a sugar plantation, where he daily saw the abominable cruelties of the slave system going on under his eye, and after a time grew quite hardened to them. He returned to England in 1789 and soon came strongly under the influence of Thomas Babington, his sister's husband, who devoted himself to the task of guiding and improving young Macaulay. "Never," says the authoress, "were pains bestowed on a kindlier soil, and never was a richer harvest reaped by the cultivator."

Thos. Babington had become deeply interested in the subject of the evils of the slave trade, and was a friend of Henry Thornton and Wilberforce. In 1788 the horrors of the middle passage had been brought before the House of Commons and an Act to regulate the number of slaves carried on slave ships was passed in that year.

In the following year Wilberforce brought forward his first motion for the abolition of the slave trade, and soon afterwards a Company was formed to assist the negro settlement of Sierra Leone, which had been planted as a colony for freed slaves by Granville Sharp. In 1791, on the suggestion of Babington, Macaulay went out to the colony, which was in difficulties, and speedily won the approbation of the Directors at home by his firmness and prudence, so that he was appointed to a place on the Council at Sierra Leone. His duties and difficulties in the colony are set forth in the careful despatches which he furnished to the Directors as well as in the diary which is reproduced in the present volume.

In 1794 Macaulay became Governor of the Colony, where he had no light task to fulfil, for the negroes were disaffected, and there were many difficulties from French aggression and the opposition of slave traders and others. Macaulay's administration was strong and successful, but his health broke down under the strain, and in 1795 he returned to England to recruit, taking his passage as far as Barbados on a slave ship in order to judge for himself of the treatment of the natives on the voyage. He thus described his experiences:—

"From the above account you will conceive that my situation could not have been a pleasant one. During the night I hung over a crowd of slaves huddled together on the floor, and the stench at times was almost beyond endurance. During the day, indeed, I had the cabin a good deal to myself, but the noise of the slaves on deck was excessive. There was no possibility of my having any exercise, as the quarter-deck was so fully occupied by the slaves during the day, as to render it difficult to move without treading on them. But if, even in health, my situation was unpleasant, it was still more so when I happened, as was frequently the case, to be much indisposed."

Characteristically, he goes on to compare his own lot with the miserable circumstances of the slaves around him, whose "cup is full of pure unmingled sorrow, the bitterness of which is unalloyed by almost a single ray of hope." During his stay in England Macaulay gained the intimate friendship of Thornton, Wilberforce and of Hannah More and her sisters, and it was at the house of these ladies at Bath that he made the acquaintance of Miss Selina Mills who became his wife more than three years later. In 1796 he returned to his post at Sierra Leone, where he remained until 1799, when he returned to England in bad health, and was immediately called upon to give important evidence on the Slave Question at the bar of the House of Lords.

The campaign against the trade had been going on in Parliament and in the country, and Abolition was slowly winning its way in spite of the powerful interests arrayed against it. In 1792 a bill for gradual abolition had been passed by a large majority in the Commons, and 1796 was fixed as the date for the abolition of the trade; this was thrown out by the House of Lords. In 1799 a bill for the limitation of the trade was again successful in the Commons; it was in the midst of this contest that Macaulay arrived in England, and had to leave his bed, where he was suffering from a sharp attack of fever, to give evidence before the Lords. In July the bill was again defeated by the Peers, but Pitt, as Macaulay records after an interview with him, was sanguine about carrying it in the following year. This hope was not realized, and the resignation of Pitt in 1801 and the temper of the new premier, Addington, and of the House of Commons were unfavourable to the hopes of the Abolitionists. Progress was delayed by the fears of a Napoleonic invasion and the consequent excitement throughout the country, but in 1804, on the return of Pitt to office, another measure of abolition successfully passed the Commons. In 1806 the hopes of the Abolitionists were again dashed by the defeat of the bill, and by the death of Pitt who had always powerfully supported their cause. The question,

then as now, was not a party one; Wilberforce himself, in handing on the task to his successor, urged the importance of keeping this great cause in possession of its old honourable distinction of being one in which all party differences were extinguished, Pitt and Fox fighting in the same rank.

The triumph came in 1807, when after years of opposition, indifference on the part of the public, and of hard ceaseless toil and thought on the part of the friends of the slaves, the Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade received the Royal Assent on the 25th of March. In this victory Macaulay had no small share.

"During the long years of the struggle Macaulay had been quietly but effectively working in the background to assist his friends to the utmost of his ability. He was always at hand while Parliament was sitting, and would be found either in the gallery of the House of Commons, or below the bar of the House of Lords, able to furnish facts or suggestions to the leaders of his party, and ready to produce any Blue-book or State-paper required for reference, or to point out some quotation apt to the subject immediately before them. 'His memory was so retentive that without the trouble of reference he could collate the papers of one Session with those of three or four preceding years; he analysed with such rapidity that he could reduce to ten or twenty pages all that was worth abstracting from five hundred; his acuteness was so great that no fallacy of argument escaped him, and no sophistry could bewilder him; and more than all, he was accuracy and truth itself. Every friend to slavery well knew Macaulay to be his most dangerous foe!'" [Sir George Stephen, Anti-Slavery Recollections.]

He was indeed indefatigable in his assiduous attention to the affairs of the Sierra Leone Colony and to the general work connected with Abolition. He had attained a calmness and concentration of mind which were invaluable in the multitude of business details which pressed upon him. Besides editing the Anti-Slavery Reporter, he wrote pamphlets and maintained an enormous correspondence on anti-slavery as well as on other subjects, so that Hannah More, writing some years later, said that if she were to judge by his labours she might suppose him to have the strength of Hercules.

"The correspondence which Clarkson always maintained with him was particularly heavy during this period when Clarkson was busy in composing pamphlets on Slavery, and depended on Macaulay to supply him with every description of information necessary for his publications, and also for the revising and editing of them; and it appears that Macaulay was constantly assisting to put the statements into a more condensed form, and criticising the diffuseness of Clarkson's method of writing."

After the Act of 1807 had been passed, the so-called African Institution, which practically took the form of an anti-slavery society, was formed for the welfare of the natives of Africa. The Duke of Gloucester, nephew of the King, was President of the Society, and many well-known statesmen and peers, spiritual and temporal, were on the board of Directors.

Macaulay became Honorary Secretary of this Society, and retained his post until 1812, when his services were recognised by the presentation of a service of plate, and an appreciative address. Some years later it was found that the

Institution, in spite of the constant attendance of the Duke of Gloucester and the other prominent men who took part in it, did not altogether fulfil its purpose:—

"The same reasons which had contributed to render it a powerful instrument in the hands of the Abolitionists at its commencement and for some years afterwards, served rather to retard than to accelerate progress in the great cause when interest in the subject of slavery became more widely disseminated throughout the country.

As time went on it became plain to the discerning eyes of one at least of the members of the board that the work of the African Institution was completed, and that now a society of a more popular and elastic nature was needed.

In Macaulay's opinion, the time had arrived when it was desirable to organise a system of agitation through the length and breadth of the land; and heartily as the Duke of Gloucester sympathised with the cause of Emancipation, it was impossible for a Royal Duke and for Cabinet Ministers and other members of the Government to lend their names to such a course of action."

There is a significant passage in the twenty-first Annual Report of the African Institution published in 1827 (shortly after which the Institution came to an end), which shows clearly that this body as then constituted had fulfilled its purpose, and that what is called in the present day a "forward movement," was necessary to meet the new needs of the cause. Most of Macaulay's colleagues had not hoped for more than the enforcement of a general abolition of the slave trade on all foreign countries; it is probable that since the Registration Bill of 1819 Macaulay himself had come to see that Emancipation was the ultimate goal in view, though he was too cautious to precipitate matters and imperil the cause by too hasty action.

The passage referred to is well worth quotation:-

"It is in Slavery that the Slave Trade has its origin; it is the market provided by the slave-holder which furnishes the direct incentive to all the crimes of a trade in slaves; to the murders and conflagrations which attend their capture; to the condensed horrors of the middle passage which follow it; and to the misery and desolation of a continent. And if so, is the conduct of Great Britain quite consistent, in cherishing, and even encouraging slavery, with all its attendant sales and transfers of human beings, in our own colonies, while on principle she repudiates and prescribes, and capitally punishes the Slave Trade in every other part of the world? Let it not be supposed, that it is intended to blame the righteous zeal which has been manifested in the suppression of the Slave Trade, and which has produced such splendid results. But has not our own success, with respect to the Slave Trade, been greatly impeded, and is it not now impeded, by the selfish inconsistency of our conduct in respect to Slavery?

The atrocities of the Slave Trade may, it is true, practically far exceed those of Slavery; yet the principle of both is identically the same; equally opposed to humanity and justice, and to every principle of the Gospel; and equally indefensible on every plea of financial and commercial expediency. And who, after all, will venture to affirm, that, viewed in the whole range of their results, the atrocities of the Slave Trade, though more palpable to observation, and striking more directly and forcibly on the senses, outweigh, in the sum of misery they produce, the evils of Slavery?"

The formation of the Anti-Slavery Society engrossed much of Macaulay's thought and time in 1823. The idea in its formation was to organise more active measures against slavery than the African Institution could undertake, and offices were taken for it in Aldermanbury. By some, even of his near friends, Macaulay was regarded "as a visionary and a wild enthusiast" for his part in projecting the Society. His labours at this time were so multiplied that he gave up the control of the West African business in which he had for some years, since the transfer of Sierra Leone to the Crown, been successfully engaged, in partnership with his nephew, T. G. Babington, and he cut down expenses in his mode of living, so as to devote himself more entirely to anti-slavery work. This step was destined to cost him dear, for in three years he found that the business had been grossly mismanaged, extensive engagements had been undertaken, and when at length the partnership was dissolved in 1820, Macaulay had lost all his It speaks volumes for the characters both of Macaulay and of Babington, that these grievous financial embarrassments did not disturb the close and affectionate relations which had always existed between the two families.

It was at a public meeting of the newly formed Anti-Slavery Society held in June, 1824, that Thomas Babington Macaulay made his first public speech, an occasion which gave his father the utmost satisfaction and joy, and was the subject of many congratulations to him.

In the cause of Emancipation, Macaulay travelled over this country as well as in France, where he formed an acquaintance with not a few statesmen and persons of distinction, in dealing with whom his prudence, his knowledge of the whole subject, and his accurate acquaintance with the French language made him a very valuable envoy.

After the annual meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society in 1830, a new departure was made, for, in spite of the more conservative attitude of Wilberforce and the other leaders, an amendment was carried at that meeting to the effect "That from and after January 1st, 1830, every slave born within the King's dominions shall be free." This bolder policy gradually came to be adopted by the leaders of the anti-slavery party. But as success came nearer, differences of opinion showed themselves among the party, and in addition to the scurrilous attacks made upon Macaulay by the planter interest, he met with ingratitude and even calumny from some of those on his own side. But he remained calm and unshaken by these base attacks,

In May 1832 a great advance was made when Mr. (afterwards Sir) T. F. Buxton moved his resolution for a Committee of the House of Commons to consider and report "upon the best means of abolishing the state of slavery throughout the British dominions." The division which followed, though it gave the Government a majority, was said to have "settled the Slavery question."

On August 28th, 1833, the Bill for the Abolition of Slavery in British dominions received the Royal assent.

Meanwhile Macaulay's health had become thoroughly broken by financial

troubles added to his constant labours; in 1835 he went to Paris for a time to reside, with his daughters, and while there he did all he could to assist the French Society for the abolition of slavery and published several works on the subject in French; he also continued his work of preparing the Anti-Slavery Reporters.

At the close of 1836 Macaulay became increasingly infirm and ill, when he was removed to London, and received a few months later an appreciative Resolution from the Anti-Slavery Society, deeply regretting his illness, and referring to the "pre-eminent services which for so many years he had been enabled to render the Negro cause."

On May 13th, 1838 the devoted life came to an end.

We do not attempt in the present sketch of this most interesting book to advert to other points in Zachary Macaulay's life than those connected with the slavery question. This, indeed, constituted his great life-work, but his interests were many, and his circle of friends included many persons highly distinguished in the political and literary world. He was closely associated with that earnest band of Evangelicals, known as the Clapham sect, in many of their enterprises for good.

Among these were the founding of the Church Missionary Society in 1799, the efforts for the diffusion of Christianity in India, the Religious Tract Society, the education of the poorer classes as initiated in Joseph Lancaster's system, and the work of the Bible Society. Another scheme in which he heartily co-operated was that for the formation of the University of London. He was very far from being narrow in his sympathies and interests. He constantly received foreigners, who came to him with letters of introduction from his brother, General Macaulay, and others, who wished to see English institutions, and he seems to have acted as almoner for Mrs. Hannah More, for Wilberforce, and other associates, and we are told that in spite of his many duties and personal anxieties he always kept up his attention to the requirements of friends. His health and constitution were undermined by the years of wearing uncertainty about his private affairs, but he never remitted his anti-slavery exertions. For fourteen years he successfully edited a journal called *The Christian Observer* with care and success, contributing much of the contents from his own pen.

Macaulay's domestic relations, as shown in this biography, were markedly happy and peaceful. He was devoted to his wife and his children, who in their turn repaid his affection and attention, especially in his declining years. His concern for and pride in his brilliant son—afterwards Lord Macaulay—are constantly shown, as is his close attachment to the brother-in-law to whose influence in his early youth he owed so much.

This book is very rich in interest not only on the anti-slavery and other questions which filled the busy life of Zachary Macaulay and his friends, but also as a clear and sympathetic record of the life of an exceptionally single-hearted and noble man, whose great part in the beneficent reforms of his time is not so well known as it ought to be.

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# British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

# SUMMARISED CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 314, 1900.

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### 1901.

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